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Sub-Saharan Africa

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Ethiopia

Mengistu News Conference 'Verbatim Report'

EA1006164089 Addis Ababa Domestic Service
in Amharic 1724 GMT 7 Jun 89

[First part of "verbatim report" of news conference given by President Mengistu Haile Mariam on 6 June in Addis Ababa]

[Text] [Unidentified reporter] Comrade President, in the talks to be held with Eritrean delegations, would you accept the return of Eritrea to federal states as before; or do you see the possibility of giving full independence to Eritrea as demanded by Eritrean representatives?

[Mengistu] First of all, what I would like to state to all of you is that with regard to Ethiopian unity, as far as the secession or independence of any part of Ethiopia is concerned, neither the party, the government, nor I myself have the mandate or authority to grant this or to negotiate about it. This is unthinkable. Our present peace initiative is based upon the history, culture, politics, law, and similar general characteristics of Ethiopia. It is also based on the interests and rights of the 48 million Ethiopian people. We believe a solution can be found within the conditions of Ethiopian unity to the country's problems and that peace can be achieved through these initiatives.

In this regard, very clear and detailed peace initiatives were proposed yesterday by an emergency meeting of our National Shengo, as you have seen and heard. These are: our readiness to hold talks with any group without any precondition; our readiness to hold the talks in the presence of a mutually agreed-upon observer; to hold the talks officially and openly, without secrecy; our readiness to hold the meeting at a mutually acceptable date and venue; and our readiness to take any other measures which will ensure, encourage, or facilitate the peace desired by our people.

It is believed that this will serve as a basis for the solution of the problem.

[Editor of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen daily, 14TH OCTOBER] Has this new initiative been taken in order to solve the problem in Eritrea in tandem with a general economic and political transformation such that the nationalities problem might be solved?

[Mengistu] First of all, you can see that Ethiopia is a country that has eradicated the feudal system of production, culture, politics, and administration and is in the process of building a new popular democratic socio-economic system and society. That is to say, we are not in the process of restoration, but in the initial stages of radical change. There are conditions and situations in which a revolution reaches a stage where it becomes necessary to correct and restore it, but our situation is that we have swept aside the old and are in the process of

building the new and therefore, our building is not rebuilding. [sentence as heard] This sort of thing might be necessary in other areas in situations different from ours.

If we ask: What is the purpose of the revolution? It is to ensure the equality of the country's various communities and nationalities, so that they share benefits equally and make sacrifices equally for their country. The economic, social, and political systems are all geared toward this end. In this way, all have benefited, shared, and made sacrifices to reach the stage where we are today, where the question of nationalities is not a problem in Ethiopia. This is enshrined in the party's political program and has been, more or less, implemented step by step.

In general, the popular government set up in Ethiopia represents various nationalities, communities, and classes, and the constitution guarantees this. This is something our constitution guarantees. The peace initiative proposed by our Shengo yesterday should not be seen as related to the secessionists who have refused to accept the interests of society and the objectives of the revolution and who have been fighting the people in specific areas.

In these areas, however, when I say people, I mean the people of Eritrea. As the representatives of Eritrea's highlanders and lowlanders recently stated, knowing of our preparations for a peace initiative, they do not want special rights or freedoms or any considerations that are different from those accorded to other nationalities in Ethiopia. The problem concerns those forces that have been disrupting the peace, retarding the socio-economic development of the people, and causing civil bloodshed through armed revolt. I would like to reiterate that this peace initiative applies to those forces who are cognisant of the people's desire for peace, who respect democracy and the will of the people, who question their consciences, and who are willing to participate.

[AFP reporter] Since it is known that all the discussions held in the past were unsuccessful because the Eritrean groups were firm in their stand for the independence of Eritrea, what makes the Ethiopian authorities suppose that the talks now to be held with Eritrean groups will be fruitful?

[Mengistu] As I have tried to explain many times at various venues, we did not just start trying to solve the problem in Eritrea today, we started with the inception of our revolution. When the first military revolutionary council, or the institution known as the Dergue, was appointed, its first agenda focused on ways in which the problem in Eritrea could be solved in a political and peaceful manner within the framework of the revolution. I will not waste time by detailing the peace efforts we have made over the past 15 years. We have made sincere efforts. However, the mistaken assumptions and information of our opposition meant that they did not understand and pursue those conditions conducive to

achieving peace through political resolutions and solutions, and therefore, many golden opportunities were missed. I think it would be useful for me to explain their wrong assumptions and notions. The secessionist movement and the problem of peace in Eritrea are older than our revolution; thus we did not create them but inherited them.

At the time of the revolution, we made similar peace efforts, but their understanding of the situation was that by taking advantage of the revolutionary activity in Ethiopia, they could realize their objective of splitting the country. They did not even consider achieving peace for the people of Eritrea, with the forces of the revolution, and consolidating their democratic rights, through the revolution and with the rest of the Ethiopian people. This is the main reason for the destruction which has been wrought to property and the blood that has been spilled. They saw that the situation would enable them to step up their revolt, but they could not see that the situation could be used to create peaceful and democratic conditions.

Secondly, they did not believe that the revolution and this revolutionary government would last. This was a major error of judgement. Because of this, many golden opportunities through which peace could have been achieved were missed. Therefore, our efforts have had to continue and for them to succeed it was necessary for these people to start to see reality [preceeding word in English] in terms of both the regional and the international situation.

Our peace efforts have increased in line with the directives issued by the first and second Shengo sessions and they have become more and more evident over the past 2 years. The people of the region are the main victims of this problem, and they were our principal concern in issuing the peace call and National Shengo directives. That is why those people of the region who have been forced to seek refuge abroad have now presented a petition seeking to benefit from the victories of the constitution and revolution, and have embarked upon activities toward this end. The people of the highland region have embarked upon activities to bring about peace and to repair the destruction of war, so that those who have become refugees can return, in line with the opportunities created by the constitution. Our party and government have embarked upon activities in various parts of the world so that they can offer direct and indirect, positive and peaceful support in the situation. It is because all these factors have come together that we have been able to launch this peace initiative. There are no other reasons for it.

Another factor is that in the Ethiopian calendar there are 3 or 4 months remaining before the new year. The new year is to be an important time during which our National Shengo will decide on the Second 5-year Plan, assess thoroughly the revolutionary effort of the last 15 years, and plan the future direction of the society. We are

now preparing for this. At the same time, our party will look at and make plans for the country's overall social, economic, and political direction.

In relation to this, reports will be made and decisive steps taken on the country's various problems, especially on the civil war in the north. Through this emergency Shengo, we have taken a step toward peace, the results of which will be considered as part of this process.

Within the republic, regional people's authorities have been partially set up in 3 autonomous and 11 other areas, where there are no problems and we can operate easily. And for next time around, since this can only be implemented in nonpolitical and nonproblematic areas, we must make the necessary preparations for this.

[PRAVDA reporter] As stated in the new peace initiative, the Ethiopian Government is ready to talk directly to any willing party about the problem in the north. In this context, how do you see the preconditions set by the opposition?

[Mengistu] For our part, the intention is to fulfill the wishes of the people, and when we say the wishes of the people we mean the wishes of the Ethiopian people, which includes the Eritrean region.

It is not the wish of our people alone; Our information and connections suggest that it is, either directly or indirectly, the desire of the majority of peace-loving countries and peoples that any conflict should be resolved peacefully and democratically. Our understanding is that with the exception of the rebel leaders—who are gaining from this situation—the lower echelons, the rebel combatants who spill their blood in this civil war, want peace. Under these circumstances, we hope that they will come to their senses, see the truth and not misinterpret our peace initiative in error. Apart from this, we do not want to speculate on what they will do and what might happen in this regard—that we will see as it happens.

[Unidentified reporter] Comrade President, when the new peace initiative is implemented, will a general cease-fire be observed in Eritrea autonomous region to facilitate the discussion?

[Mengistu] As you have all seen and heard, the Ethiopian Government has taken basic and decisive steps for peace. I do not think it is possible to do more, at any time or opportunity, until the peace talks begin. By any standard, there is no more appropriate step than that of creating an atmosphere conducive to peace. So, when the two opposition parties meet at the same table, with the aim of mutual peace, there will be a need for agreement on more than just a cease-fire in order to achieve peace and we are ready for that.

[LE MONDE Reporter] Comrade President, do the new proposals for talks, which state that they will be held with anyone willing to talk, include the EPLF and Eritrean Liberation Front [ELF]?

[Mengistu] When this peace initiative was formulated in the National Shengo, it was meant to include all those parties that have not participated and benefitted from the achievements of our democratic revolution and the anticipated achievements and victories in the way of peace and construction in the future.

In this statement, as you have seen, it is clear that these conditions [preceding word in English], or this initiative, addresses [preceding two words in English] mainly the Eritrean region, because the Eritrean problem is a 28-year-old civil war, the sacrifices in human life, material, etc, are huge, and because of this war, many of our compatriots are suffering in refuge. The cause and character of this problem is different from the other problems.

Likewise, a peaceful solution to the Eritrean problem, while it might be specific in character, problems with other parties, for instance that of [word indistinct], are different in their basic character, age, and cause [preceding word in English], and each claims to stand for its own demands. It has to be clear that we will treat [preceding word in English] the other parties according to the nature of their problems and that this peace call does not exclude [preceding word in English] them.

[Unidentified reporter] Is the Ethiopian Government ready to start the peace dialogue as a matter of urgency?

[Mengistu] Anybody would see achieving peace as a matter of urgency. If there is the goodwill and willingness on the part of our opposition, we are ready to start peace talks as a matter of urgency.

[Unidentified reporter] Comrade President, what is the solution to the Eritrean problem, in the light of the National Shengo's first emergency session held yesterday, and the new peace initiative which it approved and made public?

[Mengistu] Our compatriots in Eritrea have participated fully in the struggle for peace and economic and social justice. Inasmuch as the current peace initiative [preceding word in English] is to the advantage of the Ethiopian people, it is also to the advantage of the Eritrean people in the context of their wider role as Ethiopians. Furthermore, the role of the Eritrean people, in the terms of the objective reality of the area and the problems that are evident are not as they might seem, but are evidenced by the peace proposals presented by the lowlanders and highlanders representing the people and their interest in peace, and in exposing the objectives of the bandit elements and the sufferings they have caused. These elements are trading on the name and freedom of the Eritrean people. If they wish to achieve our wishes and desires, which are peace and living together with other

Ethiopians without death, hunger, exploitation, and suffering, they have to accede to the peoples' wishes. This is what the representatives have said.

If they want to trifle with our lives by prolonging this war, by pursuing their objectives on the pretext of peace, freedom, democratic rights and by acting against the people's interests, then, directly or indirectly, we shall expose these bandit elements by visiting those parties which are encouraging and supporting the bandits and explaining our wishes and desires to them. The representatives accepted this attitude, which conforms with the government's peace initiative in all its aspects, and if the representatives persevere in this way, they will make a great contribution.

[FINANCIAL TIMES Reporter] There is one thing I have not yet understood. It is this: When it is being said that there are preparations for talks between the two sides which have been fighting for so long, I feel that there can only be two options on the independence question: either federation or autonomy. How far has the Ethiopian Government prepared itself for dialogue in this regard? How far will it persevere in this respect? It has not laid down a definite time for the talks, and you have said nothing about how you will meet and hold talks with the EPLF and Tigray People's Liberation Front [TPLF] leaders? Is this peace initiative make-believe or the result of pressure from the USSR and others to solve the northern problem peacefully?

[Mengistu] I completely reject the basis of this question. I do not believe that this is window-dressing [preceding word English]. A peace dialogue is the result of moves by two interested parties, not a one-sided step to be taken at will. It is not a question of who wants what and who gets what. It must be a roundtable discussion. If we do not get around that table, how shall we be able to discuss anything?

The basic objective of this peace initiative is to enable opposition forces to sit around a table and look for peaceful and democratic solutions to the problem instead of fighting and killing one another. It is not to exchange goods. The purpose [preceding word in English] is to create the conditions for peace talks. If we were to provide the solution [preceding word in English], there would be no need for talks [preceding word in English]. This is what is happening, here and in the rest of the world with regard to this issue.

You should know that the groups [preceding word in English] in Eritrea do not number one or two. There are many groups [preceding word in English] with different aims and objectives, but with similar problems. Therefore, we have to find a solution which will accommodate [preceding word in English] all these different positions, and discuss. There is nothing that we can [words indistinct]. If we reach agreement with one side, it will not necessarily mean that we have reached agreement with another side. It is not as simple as most of you believe. It

is a very complex issue. That is why we do not have a cake to cut. We must come together and bake the cake jointly. This is what I say. Good.

There is one of his questions that I have not answered. The peace initiative [preceding word in English] taken up by the Ethiopian Government has been branded as the result of pressure from various countries and in particular from the USSR. First and foremost, we do not operate and are not directed by pressure from any corner [preceding word in English]. We are a country which is friendly with the Soviet Union, and there is comprehensive cooperation. That is economic, social, political and military cooperation.

The party, government, and people of the USSR have been our allies in the victories scored over the 15 years of our revolution, and they have also shared our difficult times. There has never been a time when we have not discussed the problems in the north, or any other issues, with our friends.

[Unidentified reporter] What were the matters raised by the Eritrean lowland and highland representatives? Are you ready to implement their suggestions?

[Mengistu] I think I have already answered this question, but if it is necessary I will answer it again. What the people of the Eritrean region want is very clear, and that is, that the rights guaranteed by the constitution should be implemented. They have been difficult to implement [preceding word in English] because of the lack of pace in the region. The Eritrean people have asked the government to make efforts, and support other peace-seeking forces in solving this issue peacefully.

The question of how and when we are going to implement this is determined by when the opposition forces choose to abide by democracy, peace, and the rights of the people, cease their destruction, discard their anti-peace aims and cooperate with us in implementing the wishes of the people. Although this does not mean that the willingness, or not, of the bandits will determine the fate of the Eritreans or the rest of the Ethiopian people. The Ethiopian people have sufficient force to preserve their unity and their social peace. It does not mean that we have exhausted our available potential [preceding word in English] with regard to this issue, but that we believe, first and foremost, that a peaceful solution is the way in which this problem should be solved.

Part 2 of News Conference

EA1106092889 Addis Ababa Domestic Service
in Amharic 1727 GMT 8 Jun 89

[Second part of "verbatim report" of news conference given by President Mengistu Haile Mariam on 6 June in Addis Ababa]

[Text] [PAN-AFRICAN NEWS AGENCY correspondent] Comrade President, can you tell us how the rebellion in Asmara was contained after the coup attempt of 16 May, and how calm was restored?

[Mengistu] Basically, the treachery was carried out by high-ranking Army officers who did not have the support of the majority of the Army or the (?people). As you have all realized, the attempt was foiled quickly—within hours—for this basic reason. It took very little time to bring the situation under control—especially in Addis Ababa, because it is the headquarters of the party and government leadership, defended by an Army with a genuine purpose and by people who are armed, aware, and organized.

When the attempt failed in Addis, the rebels tried hypocritically to continue with their plot in Asmara. There is one special point that journalists will note in this respect. The administrator general of the autonomous region was not on station. Furthermore, the first secretary of the party in the autonomous region, provincial secretaries, and various government officials were in Addis Ababa on official duty. So it was other members of society and the Army who brought the situation under control effortlessly. I think this is a good general indication of the strength of our people, Army, and system.

[Unidentified reporter] Is the situation absolutely calm enough to hold the next OAU summit in Addis Ababa without any problems?

[Mengistu] Basically, as I have tried to explain, this was a plot hatched by a handful of senior officers. Therefore, I do not think that there is a problem which could raise this question now or in the future. You can see this for yourselves.

[SUNDAY TIMES reporter] You returned within 36 hours from your visit to the GDR. Why was this?

[Mengistu] My colleagues and I went to Democratic Germany for a working visit. It took us about 14 hours to go and come back. When we reached Germany, we heard about the coup d'état attempted by these few generals. Since we had absolute faith in our party, government, and the Army, we realized that it would be foiled and brought under control. Therefore, we had the necessary time for our work and the fulfillment of our mission. So, we did our work and returned.

[UPI reporter] Comrade President, did you know that a coup d'état would be attempted?

[Mengistu] To be honest, we did not expect a coup. The political system in Ethiopia, our culture, and the unique characteristics of our people did not lead us to expect such a situation. When I refer to the political sphere, I mean that we have a strong Workers Party; we have a strong popular government. Unlike many countries, maybe, we have a constitution that was drafted, discussed, and criticized by every Ethiopian citizen [words indistinct] and approved through referendum. Our people are not only organized and aware, but armed as well. Our social, economic, and political victories, which our system stands for and which we have consolidated

through 15 years of revolutionary struggle, are the result of sacrifice made by all the people. They are in the interests of everybody. I do not think that in Ethiopian society, as it is today, a military junta can carry out a military coup and expect to keep going for days, let alone weeks. It would have faced great opposition and challenge [preceding word in English] which it could not possibly have overcome.

We refer to our culture and characteristics because, during our past struggle, the plotters themselves had made sacrifices within the organs of our political system. They had shared in the benefits of our victories. They held positions of high responsibility in our National Shengo and the party. They had also pledged their loyalty.

They betrayed the objectives for which the Ethiopian people have struggled valiantly, as well as national unity. We did not believe that they would think of collaborating with the enemies of the people. Unless they were absolute enemies of the people, this type of treachery was unthinkable in terms of Ethiopia's culture and way of reasoning. It was not just me. The people [word indistinct] did not expect or suspect this, either.

[Editor of the Armed Forces newspaper of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen] What are the lessons to be learned from the foiled coup attempted by a few generals?

[Mengistu] That is a good question. As I have already tried to explain, in view of our stand, the sacrifices we made, the victories we achieved, in regard to the [words indistinct] perpetrated against us, we did not expect these (?sort of people) to embark on such an attempt from within our midst. Since this is the first time that such a thing has occurred in the history of the Ethiopian revolution, it has certainly taught us a lesson. I think that our party, government, and people (?have realized) that care is needed to avoid a repetition of this and similar situations. However, the other point is that, regardless of what these forces did, we now know that we can have confidence in our revolutionary Armed Forces' ability to deal with this type of serious threat within hours.

[AFP correspondent] Comrade President, the attempted coup attracted worldwide attention. The public would like to know how many officers were involved in the attempted coup d'etat—on both sides. How many generals and how many high- or low-ranking officers were killed? What casualties were there among innocent civilians? The public would also like the answer to other questions. What is the fate of the officers now in detention? The Ethiopian Government recently declared that innocent officers would be released, while those who committed crimes would face the law. How many are there in custody? How many officers have been released so far? When are the culprits to appear in court?

[Mengistu] We realize that, at the international level, much has been said about the recent coup attempt. As I tried to explain earlier, the plotters were few in number. They had a directional role in a certain part of the Army. It had nothing to do with the troops or the people. It had no continuous social basis. It is not a question of who sided with whom. They were a (?few) officers who met at the Defense Ministry headquarters and plotted there. In Asmera they plotted at the headquarters of our revolutionary Army and remained there. Otherwise, it has nothing to do with this side or that side or any alignment of forces.

Some information can be given. When it was realized that the generals who had met at the Defense Ministry were bent on unsuccessful and sorry objectives, our party and State Council warned them to desist from such activities. Instructions were given to them through the defense minister. When the defense minister arrived there to give the instructions, one of the plotters murdered him. Later on our forces moved in to round them up. They were all requested to surrender immediately. Conscious of their crimes, two of those called upon to surrender decided to commit suicide. These were the Air Force commander and chief of staff. The others surrendered without any problem.

In Asmera, the attempted coup was carried out by a few generals in the area, who were led by the local Army commander. When our troops realized that people who had been entrusted with the great responsibility of leading the Army were engaged in such betrayal, they immediately formed their own leadership, acting on their own (?initiative). They asked the plotters to desist from such betrayal and to surrender. They were not willing to surrender and some of them opened fire to defend themselves. Therefore, the Army took steps against them. Eleven generals and other officers—all in all about 27 of them—were killed in the compound. The remainder surrendered and were detained by the loyal commanders.

Apart from those who surrendered and committed suicide in Addis Ababa, two other generals escaped during the chaos and are still at large. In Addis Ababa, 17 generals and other officers—all in all 43 of them—have been detained for investigation. In Asmera, there were some who escaped from the troops, conscious of their violent crimes and mistakes. Seven generals and 133 members of the army with various ranks are being interrogated there, in Asmera. These figures may change because they were compiled in a hurry. During the investigations, the innocent are being identified. I am sure these figures will change. For example, in Addis Ababa, three generals have been released. In Asmera, some generals and other officers - about 30 of them in all—have been released. So the figure I have given may change by as much as 33 and this process will continue.

During the incident, one soldier sustained minor injuries in Addis Ababa. In Asmera another soldier was seriously injured. There were no casualties among members of the

Army who remained loyal to the revolution and the government. Not a single civilian was injured. No property was damaged. No civilians collaborated with the generals in this plot.

As I indicated earlier, these people will be prosecuted when investigations are complete. In accordance with the constitution, it is up to the court to decide whether they will be tried in public, in camera, or a mixture of the two.

[Unidentified reporter] [Words indistinct] Why do you think the coup was plotted at this particular time?

[Mengistu] Investigations of the plotters show that although they attempted the coup now, their mischief and anti-people and anti-peace objectives started some years ago, back in 1984/85. That was when they had the idea. Why did they carry out the coup at this time? Investigations show that they started hatching their plans after the celebrations marking the 10th anniversary of the revolution and the establishment of the party. For various reasons, they were not able to implement their objectives at that time.

However, they decided not to exceed a certain deadline. Our revolution gets stronger with the passage of time. Therefore, the situation becomes progressively more difficult for all anti-revolution and anti-peace organizations. In view of this, they thought that they would have to act before the formation of the comprehensive organs of our republic that are being set up in various areas was completed. They had to act before this was done.

Second, as I tried to explain earlier, they were aware of preparations being made for our third National Shengo session in 4 months' time at which our Second 5-Year Plan would be discussed, and for our (?second) party congress. At these meetings, important national resolutions will be passed. At party congresses, internal party weaknesses are assessed and party organs replaced. Therefore, in their view a coup d'etat had to be carried out before this was done.

The third and most important reason is that they were aware of the preparations being made by this government to solve the Eritrean problem peacefully. Therefore, they had to do this before the peace initiative was launched, because they wanted to exploit this problem. Indeed, they had openly established relations with the bandits. These are the main reasons why they [words indistinct] and chose this moment.

We have also learned from statements that they themselves freely made during investigations that they chose this time because they were encouraged by (?this year's) foreign propaganda against Ethiopia's unity, peace, and (?people). They also thought they had created suitable conditions for themselves as a result of the atrocities and

deceit they carried out against our Army and government, exploiting their national responsibilities, especially in the military sphere, by collaborating with bandits.

[FINANCIAL TIMES correspondent] The forcible recruitment of young people for military service is one of the issues which caused the rebellion in Asmera. We have heard that security is your responsibility. How do you see this crime?

[Mengistu] You can all see why the war in Eritrea and the recruitment of young people for the war was blamed directly on me. In the first place, who are those coup plotters? They were people holding great responsibility. They ran everything in the military installations of our country. The Army chief of staff and the commanders of Army operations, ground forces, and other forces were the ones who recruited troops. They were the ones who trained the troops. They were the ones who used to deploy the troops. It was not Mengistu Haile Mariam. It was not my job in the first place. They were the ones who recruited, trained, and deployed the troops. That is not my duty.

That does not mean that they function freely according to their own wishes, but on the basis of our constitution, the laws which emanate from it, and the recognized regulations relating to the country's national military service. [passage indistinct] In principle there is a law which (determines) who should be recruited, in which age group, and for what purpose. It is not (?carried out) arbitrarily and children [words indistinct]. Every Ethiopian has a right and duty to (?defend) his country after he has reached 18 years of age [word indistinct]. This is why we have been able to defend our independence and [word indistinct] for many centuries. [passage indistinct] It was these people's objective to demean and [words indistinct] the troops who were deployed in this situation.

They may say other things. However, one thing that is clear to all of you is that it was these very troops who made the plotters kneel down and [words indistinct]. We did not provide leadership. We were not here. Our troops are a force with an objective. They do not work for bread or for their own benefit. This objective is the one that has triumphed.

Part 3 of News Conference

EA1106100789 Addis Ababa Domestic Service
in Amharic 1734 GMT 9 Jun 89

[Third and last part of "verbatim report" of news conference given by President Mengistu Haile Mariam on 6 June in Addis Ababa]

[Text] [PAN AFRICAN NEWS AGENCY correspondent] Comrade President, what will be your personal contribution toward rendering the Sudanese peace talks successful?

[Mengistu] In general, the Ethiopian people, party, government, and I believe in [words indistinct] the security, national unity, and peace of neighboring governments and peoples. We also wish them well and identify their objectives with our own. However, some countries, such as Sudan and Ethiopia, have problems like any other developing countries. The Sudanese are prepared to adopt a positive approach toward their problems and are acting to solve them, so we are prepared to persevere in our efforts in this direction, as we have done in the past on many occasions and without any bias or interference. It will be recalled that we succeeded in bringing them and their opponents to a roundtable, on a basis of equality and without any preconditions or interference, to hold talks aimed at solving their national problems through several forums and with support from us. We also expect the Sudanese to reciprocate by acting to solve Ethiopia's problems in a manner acceptable to the people, in conformity with history, and in a constructive manner.

[PAN-AFRICAN NEWS AGENCY correspondent] It has been 10 months since the exchange of POW's between Ethiopia and Somalia was effected. How far have you gotten with talks to solve the border problems?

[Mengistu] That is a very good question. I do not know whether it was clear, but the steps taken to peacefully solve the long-standing misunderstanding between Somalia and Ethiopia were divided into two stages. The first was [words indistinct] for peaceful coexistence and good-neighborliness [passage indistinct] to stop negative propaganda against each other reestablish diplomatic relations [words indistinct] and exchange the POW's held by the two countries as the result of past clashes and battles. These comprised the first stage, which the two sides completed successfully.

The second stage was to discuss the border issue which has been the cause of all these problems. But Ethiopia and Somalia have similarities in blood, culture, history, geography, and in many other aspects, which make them one. This is a favorable situation. By using it as an opportunity, they can cooperate economically, culturally, commercially, and in other development sectors and help each other to bring peace to our region and prepare the ground and define what is needed by the economic and social sectors to develop our societies. We have arranged to discuss these issues. In this respect, steps have been taken for Ethiopian Airlines to link Addis Ababa with Mogadishu in June. Preparations have been made for the joint committee of the two countries to meet and discuss implementation of their next objectives.

[AFP reporter] Can you envisage a situation in which the Ethiopian Government could alter its political course in its relations with the Eastern and Western world, and in particular with the United States? I mention this because Ethiopia recently recalled its ambassador designate to Washington.

[Mengistu] First and foremost, there is noting that we call East or West in our political program as regards foreign policy. This has been demonstrated, proved practically, and stated in several fora by myself. I think it is clear to you all that we have not only stated that we are ready to cooperate with the United States on a basis of goodwill, belief in national sovereignty, and non-interference in internal affairs based on the mutual interests of peoples and governments. We do this without reference to aspects of geography or ideology. What we want all friends to understand is that we Ethiopians are happy to coexist under such circumstances with anyone, but we shall never live by serving anyone.

I want to get the East-West issue straight. For a number of reasons and particularly after the founding of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia—that is, over the past 2 or 3 years—which created favourable conditions and new developments, steps have been taken to strengthen existing diplomatic missions and to open new ones. We have been preparing personnel for this purpose and have decided to despatch seven new diplomatic missions. The United States is the destination of one of these. The decision was made in a genuinely fair spirit. Unfortunately, relations between Ethiopia and America deteriorated during President Reagan's term of office. Then, when the U.S. Administration was taken over by President Bush, we came to the conclusion that conditions had changed for the better and that the climate of East-West relations had changed course with closer relations replacing hostility. We accordingly responded by taking positive [preceding word in English] steps. This is what the American Administration has been seeking for a long time.

Ours is not a new relationship. There used to be a long-standing and well-developed diplomatic relationship. The issue was the elevation of the mission to ambassadorial level. This was not an issue for them alone but also an administrative decision by us. There are diplomatic regulations. The individual we appointed ought to be accepted or rejected. There should be no political [words indistinct]. There is a set procedure and time for all this. Our ambassador designate to the United States has been waiting for a response from the American Administration, which has left him idle for 3 months. But this does not mean that we should alter our plans, provided there is willingness to resolve the issue. Do not believe, however, that this situation will have a negative outcome.

[FINANCIAL TIMES correspondent] The Workers Party of Ethiopia [WPE] Central Committee ninth regular session adopted important resolutions on economic recovery, but nothing has happened yet. Why?

[Mengistu] Well, this is not the first time we have been asked about this issue, which is not very well understood. During its ninth session, our WPE Central Committee discussed the economic and social policy directives governing the next 5-Year Plan and its implementation.

These policies were to serve as directives for executive bodies or administrative organs to apply to their plans and to be integral to those plans. As observed earlier, the plans govern such areas as industry, agriculture, and services. In conformity with the policy decisions, these policies are included in the plan in order to determine its implementation in terms of financial and manpower resources and the when and the how in the coming 5 years. To this end, various task forces have been assigned. The rest is decided by the law. Policy matters are not treated haphazardly; they are decided by the law. To implement all this, the legal personnel will work out modalities.

I do not think [words indistinct] have understood the situation of our country. We have created a new sphere of sectors and division of labor. It is not easy to build up such a system. You cannot just wake up in the morning and do it at one go. Hence, such matters must be prepared and presented to the next National [preceding word in English] Shengo and will be decided upon in the light of the plan and regulations. They are not issues which anyone is capable of resolving at will. Those who are awaiting their outcome will be the beneficiaries of the process and this will be manifested in practical terms. Therefore, it is due to inadequate understanding and interpretation that it is being said that nothing has been done in the last 7 months.

Foreign Minister Meets Sudanese Counterpart
*EA1106183889 Addis Ababa Domestic Service
in Amharic 0400 GMT 11 Jun 89*

[Text] Comrade Berhanu Bayeh, of the Workers Party of Ethiopia Central Committee Political Bureau and foreign minister, yesterday evening received and held talks in his office with the delegation led by Mr Sayyid Ahmad al-Husayn, Sudanese deputy prime minister and foreign minister, who is also chairman of the Sudanese ministerial peace committee.

Mr Sayyid Ahmad said that the Sudanese Government and people were very happy to see the failure of the recent attempted coup and peace and stability preserved. He said that the recent call, made in particular by the First Extraordinary Session of the National Shengo for a peaceful solution to the problem in the northern part of Ethiopia was an issue which should be supported by the international community. He gave an assurance that

everything possible would be done on the Sudanese side to ensure that the peace efforts were successful. He further said that the compatriots to whom the peace call was addressed had no alternative but to accept the peace move approved by the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia's National Shengo. He said that since the international community will put pressure on the opposition groups to respond to the call, they will be obliged to accept it. Mr al-Husayn said that the Sudanese people and government had supported earlier efforts made by the people and government of Ethiopia to bring about peace in the north. He gave an assurance that this support would continue even more strongly than before.

Comrade Berhanu for his part said that the attempted coup, which was plotted by a few generals, received no support from the people and the army. He said the foiling of the attempt within a few hours confirmed the presence of a strong government and party, and a force which is politicized, organized and armed. In conclusion, Comrade Berhanu reaffirmed that Ethiopia would continue as before to give support to the peace talks between the Sudanese Government and the Sudanese Liberation Front.

Oromo Rebels Report Military Victory
*EA1206212389 (Clandestine) Voice of the Oromo
Liberation Army in Oromo 1530 GMT 12 June 89*

[Excerpt] The Oromo Liberation Army, led by the Oromo Liberation Front [OLF] in eastern Oromoland, has continued its action against the enslaving enemy forces. In a surprise attack on 10 June 1989, our heroic fighters of the OLF disarmed the colonial soldiers and freed more than 2,000 Oromo prisoners by destroying five concentration camps in Gara Muleta Province. The Oromos, who had been confined in cattle sheds by the enslaving Ethiopian Government, were told to return to their former villages. They were briefed on the Oromo people's struggle, the revenge taken against them by the Dergue because of OLF actions, and on the current state of the Ethiopian Government.

Enemy soldiers stationed at [word indistinct] of the 143d Brigade [words indistinct] under the command of Major Fekedu Gemechu during 4 hours of heavy fighting lost 25 killed. While counting the dead, the OLF established that they included Major Fekedu Gemechu, the commander [word indistinct] and nine soldiers were also captured in the battle.

UK Embassy Responds to COSATU Note
MB0906161589 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1612 GMT 9 Jun 89

[Text] Cape Town June 9 SAPA—The British Government was addressing itself to the ending of the state of emergency, the release of political prisoners and the unbanning of political organisations, the charge d'affairs at the British Embassy, Mr Jim Poston, said in a letter to COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] today.

He was reacting to a letter delivered to the embassy yesterday by the COSATU Northern Transvaal region, in which COSATU said those concerned with the situation in South Africa should address themselves to these issues.

Mr Poston said in his reply that the British Government had adopted a realistic, balanced approach to the deep-rooted problems facing SA and southern Africa as a whole. There were no instant solutions to these problems, he said.

The sooner a negotiating process started between the SA Government and the representatives of all sections of the community in SA, the better the prospects for creating a free, successful country which itself could contribute fully to helping tackle the wider problems looming in the African Continent.

Mr Poston said that in a speech to the Royal Commonwealth Society in London in May, Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe said the SA Government needed to address itself to lifting the state of emergency, releasing Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners and unbanning the ANC [African National Congress] and other political parties.

Mr Poston said the British Government had made its views known to the SA Government not in high-profile public speeches and statements, but also in innumerable private contacts with government ministers, senior officials and other influential figures, and continued to do so.

The British Government recognised that the arrest of the COSATU Northern Transvaal regional secretary, Mr Donsie Khumalo, had been a cause of frustration and anger.

When he entered the embassy in March the British had sought and received assurances from the SA Government that he would not be arrested for his actions at the embassy.

Referring to the British Government's attitude to the ANC, he said that in an interview with BEELD newspaper in November last year British PM [Prime Minister] Mrs Margaret Thatcher had specifically pointed out the

ANC could be distinguished from the terrorist IRA because in Northern Ireland all citizens had the vote, which was not the case in SA.

Mrs Thatcher had also said she did not see how it was possible in the modern world to achieve political stability except when all adults had the vote.

Mr Poston said the British Government condemned apartheid because it was unjust and immoral. Political freedom meant freedom of choice for all citizens.

"We want to see all South Africans free to choose for themselves where they live, travel, work and play, and above all to see them free to vote for whom they want.

"This is why we continue to urge the South African Government to free Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners unconditionally as a necessary first step in a peaceful process towards democracy."

The British Government did not support sanctions and disinvestment as the way forward. Sanctions would cause indiscriminate damage to the whole southern African economy and so make even more difficult the already daunting task of creating a successful post-apartheid society.

Making a bad situation worse would not make it better, Mr Poston said.

"Our efforts are directed instead at strengthening the ability of black South Africans to oppose apartheid by improving access to education, by strengthening community groups and by supporting South African trade unions."

Justice Minister on Emergency's Implementation
MB0906210589 Johannesburg SAPA in English
2100 GMT 9 Jun 89

[Text] Pretoria June 9 SAPA—The reasons for the existence of the emergency situation should be placed fairly and squarely before the door of the terrorist organisations and their internal comrades, and not that of the government, the minister of justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said here today.

He said in a statement it would not be tolerated for the safety of the Republic and all its people, which were the responsibility of the government, to be put in jeopardy or maimed in any respect.

"The government will forego its duty should it not take the necessary steps to introduce measures to ensure the safety of the public and the maintenance of public order in circumstances where the usual laws of the country are inadequate.

"It is a universal phenomenon that a government will make use of emergency measures in such circumstances."

Mr Coetsee said the regulations announced by the state president agreed in every respect with the regulations which were in force during the recent emergency. Legal certainty over the content and application of the regulations had been expressed in court. In addition, the courts did not hesitate to provide suitable remedies for people who had been affected by cases where emergency regulations were exceeded or maliciously applied.

"People who are not guilty of activities which place the public or the maintenance of public order in danger, or put a spoke in the wheels of the ending of the emergency, need in no way fear that there will be action against them in terms of the emergency regulations.

"In this connection it is of importance to take notice that it is in fact radical elements who agitate strongly against an emergency situation so that they can get a free hand to bring about their revolutionary goal.

"It is the government's striving to restore order in such a measure that it will not be necessary to tie up individual and other liberties. All South Africans should put their weight behind the government to help it return to normal."

Mr Coetsee said that while the emergency situation persisted, he had to point out that the extraordinary measures taken by the state were still subject to lawful measures and it was still the function of the courts to see to it that such measures were respected.

"As in the past, the government will not hesitate to act against any person who exceeds competences and powers and transgresses such lawful rules," the minister said.

Vlok Says Emergency Aims for Stability
MB0906190089 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1715 GMT 9 Jun 89

[Text] Port Elizabeth June 9 SAPA— Revolutionary and radical elements were still trying to plunge South Africa into chaos and misery, and were determined to make the country ungovernable and destroy property and the lives of people.

This was said in an address here tonight at the annual Coopers Super Gold Fleece Awards meeting by the minister of law and order, Adriaan Vlok.

Referring to the state president's announcement of the reintroduction of a state of emergency, Mr Vlok said the DP [Democratic Party] co-leader, Dr Zach de Beer, claimed the reimposition was a confession by the government that it could not govern South Africa except by force.

"But the state of emergency does not represent rule by force as was stated by Dr de Beer. Its aim is to create stability, to protect our people against violent revolutionary and radical activities.

"That is why the majority of South Africans welcome the state of emergency. I want to refer Dr de Beer to a recent survey ...

"The survey by Markinor revealed that only 1.35 per cent of black people in our country were opposed to the state of emergency. Almost 99 per cent welcomed it.

"Why? Because they bore the brunt of the uncivilised murder, bloodshed and destruction which took place in South Africa prior to the imposition of the state of emergency. They were the real victims, they don't want to live through that hell again.

"If Dr de Beer claims that the government cannot govern South Africa by normal civilised methods, and therefore the state of emergency, I want to ask him: Does he regard the radical ideal of an ungovernable country as civilised? Does he believe that radicals must use people's courts and alternative structures to destroy our people's lives? Is that civilised?"

Mr Vlok said the SA Government had a responsibility towards all its peoples—to protect them and safeguard their belongings and interests. In order to crush the multi-dimensional revolutionary onslaught against South Africa and its people, the government had embarked on a multi-dimensional counter-revolutionary strategy.

"Our first (strategy) was to restore law and order—thanks to the state of emergency we succeeded to a certain extent in achieving this.

"Secondly, we wanted to bring good government to our people. We want to address socio-economic and other problems and provide what is most needed—stable communities, housing, education, job opportunities etc. In this we are succeeding.

"And lastly, we have embarked on a road of political reform. We will not allow revolutionaries and radicals to inhibit us in these initiatives. Unlike the DP, we will not shun our responsibilities and we will not be soft on security.

"Whether the DP wants to admit it or not, South Africa is the target of revolutionary onslaught. This culminates in various forms: terror attacks, boycotts, sanctions and efforts to mobilise the masses to resort to revolutionary activities.

"We will not allow our country to fall into this deathtrap. We will not allow any organisation to seize power through violence and intimidation," the minister said.

Commentary Stresses New Emergency 'No Surprise'
MB0906164589 Johannesburg International Service
in English 1500 GMT 9 Jun 89

[Station commentary]

[Text] The decision to renew South Africa's state of emergency for another year came as no surprise. With crucial negotiating initiatives underway in the country, this was no time to remove the security umbrella that has been so successful in countering the ravages of revolutionary unrest. Few people would still dispute that the state of emergency has made an immense contribution to the task of protecting the lives and property of ordinary people, particularly in the black urban areas, against radical violence.

When it was first introduced, the level of unrest related incidents declined by 80 percent and the deaths by 95 percent within months, and the situation has continued to improve gradually since then. It is also clear, however, that underground revolutionary forces have by no means been neutralized yet. It was reported recently that the level of terrorist incidents in the country during the 6 months to April had actually been higher than in the same period last year. An unusually high proportion of these terrorist incidents were aimed against public representatives and public servants, which underscores a further concern in the present situation.

It is evident by now that an important strategy in the terrorist offensive is the use of violent intimidation to undermine any moves to expand democracy through the establishment of representative institutions. Hence, it was the ANC's [African National Congress's] declared goal last year to subvert the holding of municipal elections, a tactic that resulted in an upsurge of terrorist violence during that time. There is evidence that similar action is being planned for the general election in September.

Like most of its neighbors in southern Africa, South Africa is passing through a period of political and civil turbulence necessitating tight security measures. Meanwhile, the process of political reform continues to address the underlying problem.

Police Note ANC Threat To Disrupt Poll
MB0906092189 Johannesburg THE CITIZEN
in English 9 Jun 89 pp 1, 2

[By Brian Stuart]

[Text] Cape Town—The ANC [African National Congress] and SA Communist Party [SACP] have threatened to disrupt the coming Parliamentary general election, General Johan van der Merwe, Senior Chief Deputy Commissioner of the South African Police, said last night.

Gen Van der Merwe said this was one of the factors which had led to the decision to reimpose a state of emergency on the expiry of that imposed a year ago.

He quoted the radical Freedom Radio as stating on 9 May: "We call on you not to co-operate with the structures the oppressor will use in facilitating these elections.

"The September elections must be a clear failure. This is our principle task now."

Gen Van der Merwe said the ANC and the SACP still regarded the revolutionary struggle as vital, and both were planning joint and separate actions for the months ahead. For security reasons it was not possible to give further details at this stage.

"As in the past, we expect the ANC-SACP to do everything in their power to disrupt the elections. It is one of the factors we considered for reimposing the state of emergency."

He said that among, other factors leading to the decision to reimpose the state of emergency were the unrest in Natal, and the high risk of renewed mass violence if the regulations were lifted, because of the revolutionary climate.

"We are also aware that radical persons and organisations which have been restricted in terms of the emergency regulations have not changed their objectives.

"Obviously we would like to persuade these people and organisations to change their views and objectives."

Gen Van der Merwe said it was clear that for a revolution to succeed it was necessary to politicise and mobilise the masses, and this was still an objective of the ANC-SACP. Although these organisation had suffered setbacks in recent times, they remained committed to their revolutionary aims.

"Terrorist activities have recently increased, as compared with this time last year, and we can expect a further escalation. There are also terrorists from Angola who will make a desperate attempt to infiltrate South Africa, to carry out acts of terrorism."

The situation in Natal had become calmer and was now "quite stable", largely as a result of a drastic increase in the number of South African Police personnel deployed in the area. A far worse situation would have arisen had the emergency regulations not been in force, Gen Van der Merwe said.

DP's De Beer Views Party Prospects, Platform
MB1206121189 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1114 GMT 12 Jun 89

[Text] Johannesburg June 12 SAPA—The co-leader of the Democratic Party [DP] Dr Zach de Beer, said tonight the result of the Linden by-election proved the viability of the DP as a political instrument, but warned the task the DP had set itself was a "formidable and difficult" one.

Speaking at the inaugural general meeting of the southern Transvaal region of the DP, Dr de Beer said the Linden result "came as marvellous reassurance that we were absolutely right to form this party".

"You see, we are determined to build a single, united South African nation. Our opponents are merely out to win an election among the white voters. The Conservatives insist they want territorial division of South Africa between different race groups—though nothing will get them to indicate where these different territories are to be," he said in remarks prepared for delivery.

"As for Mr F.W. de Klerk (the National Party leader), he said quite openly in parliament he stood for the further extension of the own affairs concept. In other words, he does not want to build a united nation: on the contrary, he wants to perpetuate group loyalties and, inevitably, group divisions."

Dr de Beer said he was certain neither the territorial segregation proposed by the Conservatives, nor the group segregation advocated by Mr de Klerk would ever gain the support of the people of South Africa in general.

"Either will prove a recipe for ongoing conflict and ultimate disaster. That is why we must pursue a single united nation," he said.

Dr de Beer said the task was made difficult by the bitter legacy of past conflict and injustice, but the common desire of most South Africans for peace, freedom, justice and prosperity provided the basis for unity.

"We dare not and we shall not turn away from our ideals in the pursuit of short-term electoral advantage," he said.

He said the DP would expose the "shallowness and hollowness of the policies put forward by the Conservatives and the Nationalists".

"We shall fight unremittingly for a just and open society and a common patriotism," Dr de Beer said.

12 Jun Press Review of Current Problems, Issues MB1206110189

[Editorial Report]

SUNDAY STAR

Qwelane Compares RSA-UK 'Democracy'—On page 10 of Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR in English on 11 June, Jon Qwelane writes in his "Just Jon" column on the widespread strikes in Britain last week, saying: "I saw democracy at work and for a while wished those members of the ruling National Party whom Mrs Helen Suzman would like to see heavily disguised as human beings were also there to see it." Qwelane points out that "no people are going to be detained for months on end,

not seen by their family or lawyers or private doctors, to be finally brought to the courts on charges of treason and terrorism—all because they spearheaded a strike."

Emergency Becomes 'Norm'—When first declared the state of emergency was "greeted with shock" says a page 12 editorial. "This week, when it was renewed for the fourth time, there was scarcely a murmur. The abnormal—and at one time unthinkable—has become the norm. That should prompt any thinking South African to take stock." The emergency "creates the illusion of a strong government with everything under its control. In both the economic and political spheres, as any thinking person knows, nothing could be further from the truth." SUNDAY STAR believes the emergency is "like a bandage on a septic wound. It may hide the sight of it, but it will never cure that which lies beneath. Worse, the longer the wound is covered the more septic it will become and the more pain it will cause in the long run."

Call for Pik Botha To Join DP—Political correspondent David Breier says on page 13 "there is a growing body of opinion in the Democratic Party [DP] that if Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha can't beat them, he should join them." This call follows this week's DP victory over the National Party in Linden, which falls largely in Pik Botha's Westdene seat. "DP supporters believe Mr Botha would not only be free to express his opinions if he joined them, but that he might also solve the DP's own leadership dilemma."

SUNDAY TIMES

DP Linden Victory 'Warning' to NP—"The Democratic Party's [DP] victory in the Linden municipal by-election and the renewal of the state of emergency are merely two sides of the same, somewhat devalued, South African coin," remarks Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English on 11 June in a page 20 editorial. "Linden indicated vibrancy and the desire for change. The reimposition of the emergency marked the opposite: The failure of the Government to inspire sufficient South Africans with confidence in a new vision or the steps to achieve it." Linden is "a dashboard-light warning to the National Party [NP] that its electoral fuel is running low. It must realise that sensible South Africans are hungry for imaginative and viable options, bold ventures and clear visions. They are tired of sitting atop Casspirs, the victims of international expropriation and internal decay. If the National Party and those who would lead it cannot understand this, they must accept the consequences on September 6."

NP 'Vulnerable' Under DP Campaign—Dries van Heerden writes on the same page that the Democratic Party [DP] victory in Linden showed "just how vulnerable the NP [National Party] is when exposed to a concerted campaign focused mainly on economic issues." This shows the DP has "the ability to capture disenchanted Nationalists, especially in higher-income constituencies." The DP also "projected itself as strong on law and

order, competent on economics and committed to draw South Africans representing both the system and the struggle into negotiations on the country's future."

THE CITIZEN

Criticism of RSA-PRC Comparison—Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 12 June in its page 6 editorial notes that if Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the West German foreign minister, says "'all measures that affect people themselves are not the right way to go about it' in China, they are not the right way to go about it in South Africa. And South Africa is not guilty of a massacre like the one the Beijing regime has inflicted on its people. We know why Mr Genscher feels he can safely bash South Africa whereas he cannot do likewise to China. It is because South Africa is a small country, whereas China is a huge land, with the world's biggest population (it has a billion people), is becoming a superpower and offers vast markets for German (and other Western) businessmen."

THE STAR

Editorial on Emergency, Disinvestment—"Whatever reasons American companies may still discern to justify remaining in South Africa will have been further eroded by the renewal of the state of emergency," notes a page 8 editorial in Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 12 June. "Whether it was realistic or not to expect the Government—with an election pending—to lift emergency rule, in many U.S. boardrooms the renewal will be seen as yet another black mark against Pretoria." "Here is yet another reason for the post-election government not to prevaricate over major reform measures. The past few years have seen quite enough harm already."

BUSINESS DAY

Criticism of Emergency Renewal—Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 12 June says in a page 4 editorial: "The renewal of the state of emergency for the fourth year was to be expected because government has done nothing in three years to eliminate the underlying tensions that threaten law and order, and it must continue to rely on coercion to keep control." "In renewing the regulations without amendment President Botha is admitting his inability to govern the country by more normal means, even with the wide range of repressive laws at his command. But when we have made every possible concession to the views of the police and the government, we still cannot see justification for eliminating the judiciary from the administration of the emergency. Governments may see detention without trial as a necessity, but detention on the order of a policeman, unsupervised by the courts or the judges, is an unacceptable and barbaric measure."

SOWETAN

Reasons for Emergency 'Specious'—"The reasoning behind the Government's extension of the state of emergency is specious, to say the least," notes Johannesburg

SOWETAN in English on 12 June in its page 6 editorial. "It might indeed be an astute political ploy for the Government to tell would-be voters that they are seriously fighting the security problem. It makes white South Africans, particularly with the advent of the rightwingers—feel better if they believe their lives are 'protected' by a 'strong' government. Holding elections under a state of emergency obviously hampers the democratic process, faulty as it is in South Africa."

NEW NATION

Emergency Pillar of Apartheid—In a page 6 editorial Johannesburg NEW NATION in English on 9-14 June writes: "There is a movement surging through the world for the democratization of society." "This phenomenal force is moving rapidly and will affect all countries—South Africa no less." "In the face of this, the government is reimposing the state of emergency thus driving our country into yet another abyss of flames." "The emergency now stands as the major pillar of apartheid." "The government no longer has to pass crude pieces of legislation that incenses opinion at home and abroad." "It now rules through the emergency and tries to hide the scars of apartheid by its manipulation of information and its massive mobilization of the security forces." "All those Western governments who have given instinctive support to the South African government—thus ensuring that we live under a state of emergency perpetually—must now tell our people if this support will continue."

DIE BURGER

French Attitude to CP Speech Freedom 'Strange'—"The French Government's decision to grant Conservative Party (CP) leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, a visa on condition that he would not make any public appearances is unusual and strange," notes Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans on a page 18 editorial of 8 June. "It is in direct opposition to the French Government's long and famous tradition of freedom of speech." "If they had given him a hearing, the French could have used the opportunity to tell Dr Treurnicht what they think of his CP policies."

'Pathetic' State of Affairs in DP—A second editorial on the same page comments on Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert's decision not to return to parliamentary politics at this stage, saying "just before the Democratic Party's [DP] first and most important general election it simply reflects a pathetic state of affairs in and around the leftist party." "Even greater frustration in the troika is revealed by the fact that Dr Slabbert is suddenly seen as the charismatic saviour."

BEELD

NP Urged To 'Reverse' Political Situation—The Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans of 9 June editorializes on page 10: "If the National Party [NP] goes into the election without at least the outline of a plan for a new

South Africa, it will deserve everything it gets.' That quotation is from the editorial in BEELD of Monday 29 May. The outcome of the municipal by-election in Linden is in our view the kind of reaction that the NP can expect if it cannot convince voters that it has a plan which holds new hope for South Africa." "It would be a mistake to lose sight of the fact that Johannesburg has always been more party inclined than most of the city councils in the country. And the fact that the NP has suffered this defeat in a ward like Linden inevitably creates the uneasy feeling that some of the party's most faithful supporters are busy leaving it." "Yet, as we said on 29 May, the key remains in the hands of the NP. It alone can reverse the political situation overnight with steps that can echo around the world. The time to take those steps is running out much too fast."

ILANGA

De Klerk Cannot 'Bulldoze' Population—Durban ILANGA in Zulu on 8-10 June in a page 6 editorial notes: "Government's decision not to commence with regional services councils in Natal is an encouraging sign that the National Party, under Mr F.W. de Klerk, has come to realize that it cannot bulldoze the entire population into accepting its decisions without question." "We trust that South Africa has reached an era where there will be joint decision making. It appears that De Klerk, who will be the new president, has started along the right path. He must use opportunities for cooperation, and will find that Ulundi, and many other blacks, will meet him halfway."

RAPPORT

NP Must Heed Linden Election Outcome—"The loss of the Johannesburg ward of Linden 3 months before a general election will make the National Party [NP] and its opponents look very hard at where similarities can arise at municipal and national level," notes the editorial on page 28 of the Johannesburg RAPPORT in Afrikaans of 11 June. Similarly, it can have everyone thinking the unthinkable about what can happen at the polling booths on 6 September if Linden is indeed the writing on the

wall. Without exaggerating the significance of Linden, the result gives a further indication that the opposing forces in South African politics have, more than ever, brought the NP to a crossroad." "The NP must give attention to what drove the people of Linden away and whether their reasons are not perhaps representative enough of voters at national level that even the NP itself must start thinking the unthinkable." "If the NP does not see the light, if it does not make it clear where its reform path is leading, if it does not bring greater hope and greater calm to the people, then it will have badly misread the message of Linden."

VRYE WEEKBLAD

'Barbaric' Death Penalty Must Go—An editorial on page 14 of the Johannesburg VRYE WEEKBLAD in Afrikaans of 9 June reads: "Hardly a week goes by now without reports of South Africans being hanged or sentenced to death. In two court cases in the past 2 weeks, 26 people got the death sentence. We wish to make our stand clear once again: The death penalty is barbaric. It is barbaric in the case of the Upington 14 and the Mdantsane 12, and it is barbaric in the case of the race murderer, Barend Strydom. We hope the government will soon pay heed to the responsible opinion from legal and church circles to declare a moratorium on death sentences, review the whole system, and abolish it."

DIE REPUBLIKEIN

SWAPO Weapons Violation of 435—The Windhoek DIE REPUBLIKEIN in Afrikaans of 8 June notes in an editorial: "Resolution 435 absolutely forbids the keeping of military weapons by civilians. If it is true, therefore, that Mr Sam Nujoma ever—a he tried to impress to the Security Council—accepted Resolution 435, then it is his responsibility to see to it that the weapons hidden inside the country by his bandits from 1 April be handed over to the police and UNTAG [UN Transition Assistance Group]." "Every arms cache discovered is proof to the international community of SWAPO's [South-West African People's Organization] unwillingness to participate in the peace process with the United Nations operation."

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